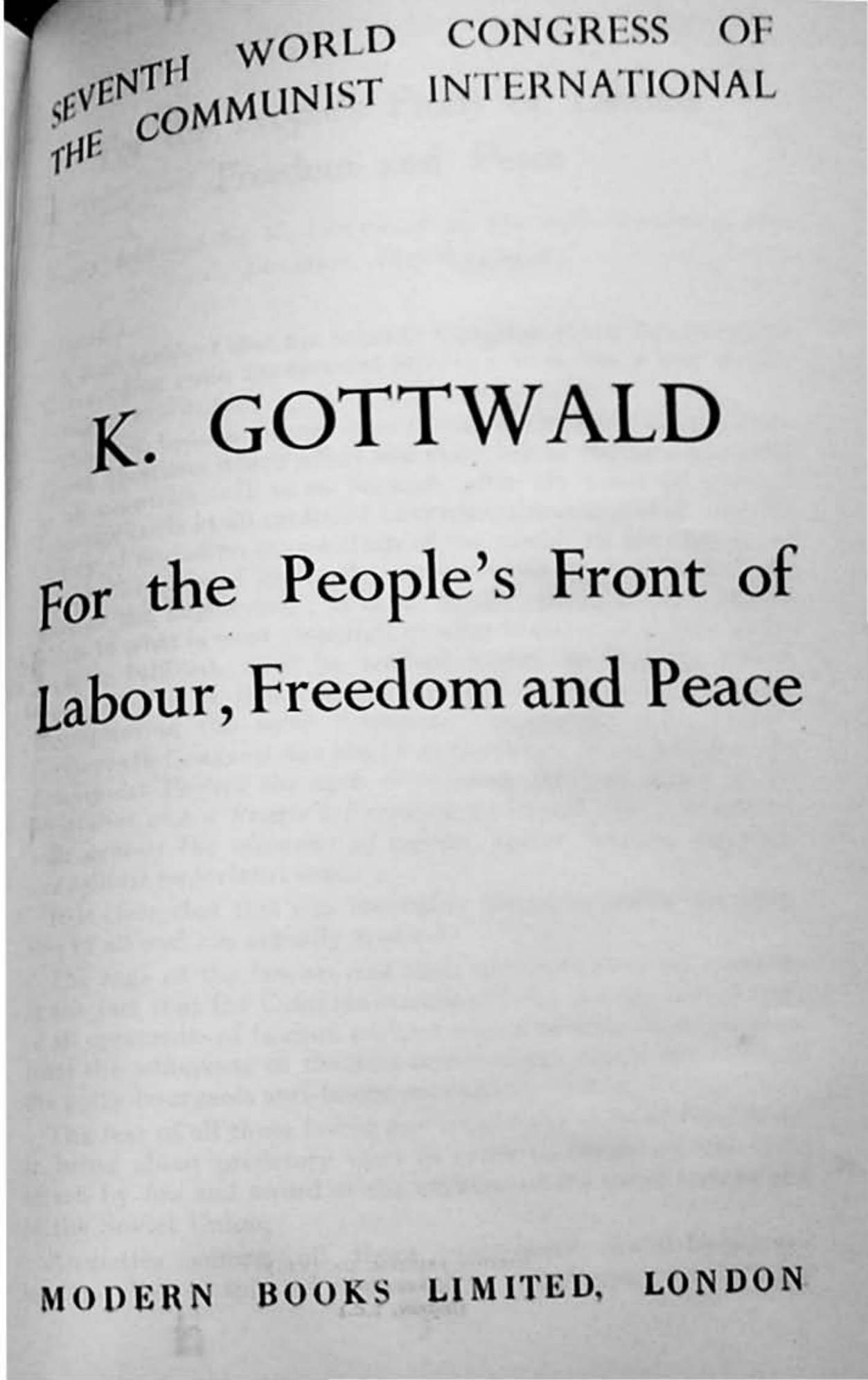
Comintern 7th World Congress Part 13: For the People's Front of Labour, Freedom and Peace

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For the People's Front of Labour, Freedom and Peace

Speech delivered by K. GOTTWALD *at the 24th Session of the Congress, August 7, 1935*

Comrades,

It is no accident that the Seventh Congress of our International is proceeding amid exceptional attention from the whole world, friends as well as foes.

This is so because we are here discussing and solving the most urgent questions which affect the daily life of the toiling people in all countries. It is so because, after six years of unusual economic crisis in all capitalist countries, simultaneously with the victory of Socialism in one-sixth of the world, all are desirous of hearing the voice of those who accomplished this " miracle," the voice of the Bolsheviks. It is so, finally, because our Congress points to what is most essential, to what is decisive, to that which must be fulfilled, must be realised *to-day*, so that the toiling people of this or that country can create the prerequisites for accomplishing the same " miracle " to-morrow—*i.e., because our Seventh Congress has placed at the centre of the policy of the Communist Parties the task of creating unity of action of the proletariat and a People's Front on a national and international scale against the offensive of capital, against fascism, for peace and against imperialist war.*

It is clear that this was inevitably bound to arouse the attention of all and has actually aroused :

The rage of the fascists and their accomplices in all countries at the fact that the Communists are striving for the united front of all opponents of fascism without regard to what separates them from the adherents of the anti-fascist camp among the ranks of the petty-bourgeois anti-fascist opposition;

The fear of all those fascist and imperialist elements that desire to bring about predatory wars in order to divide up the world afresh by fire and sword at the expense of the small nations and of the Soviet Union;

Anxieties among all those reactionary Social-Democratic leaders who, in spite of all the toiling population's very adverse

experience of the policy of class collaboration, desire to continue this policy, and in its interests, to reject the united front of the proletariat and thus maintain the split in the ranks of the working class;

Hopes among all those who hope, and justly hope, that by the realisation of unity of action of the proletariat and the People's Front on a national and international scale, they will be spared the Golgotha that the German toiling people has had to pass through.

The Seventh Congress of our International, and especially the speech of Comrade Dimitrov, has clearly shown that *on our part* there not only do not exist any obstacles to the *immediate* creation of working-class unity of action in every country and throughout the world, but that, on the contrary we Communists are undertaking everything possible to remove the existing obstacles.

There are people in the world—Comrade Dimitrov appropriately dubbed them "political hens"—who persuade themselves that the Communists have given up their principles or are weakening them. How ridiculous that is! An International whose leading Party is building Socialism in one-sixth of the world while the capitalist world is writhing in hopeless chaos and relapsing into mediæval barbarism, an International whose leading principles have stood the test of history precisely at a time when all opposing systems, theories and tactics have finally failed, an International which is converting into deeds the masterly teaching of Lenin and Stalin—such an International truly does not need to change anything in its principles. If we are changing anything, it is the methods and forms, *how in the changed situation* we can cause our basic principles to penetrate still more deeply among the masses, *how we can create unity of action of the working class for repulsing and attacking the class enemy*. And it is to be hoped that these gentlemen will very soon feel this themselves.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International has also aroused great attention in *Czechoslovakia*. And correctly so! For in Czechoslovakia the question of creating unity of action of the working class against the offensive of capital, against fascism, for peace and against imperialist war is just as urgent as in the other capitalist countries.

The attacks of capital on the standard of living of the toiling masses proceed further. There are about 800,000 unemployed in Czechoslovakia. Unemployment relief is miserable, a considerable section of the unemployed are altogether without support. The income of the employed workers is low, but at the same time the cost of living is rising. The toiling peasantry and artisans are being ruined by taxes, debts, interest and by the competition of big capital. In Czechoslovakia there are entire sections of the country, as for instance in the German districts, in the Carpatho-Ukraine and in Slovakia, where starvation prevails. All the burdens of the crisis are being shifted on to the shoulders of the toilers. Hence what can be of more immediate concern than to create a mighty united front of the working class and to fight jointly to impose the burdens of the crisis on the capitalists?

The danger of fascism is growing. At the parliamentary elections in May, 1935, Hitler's agency in Czechoslovakia, the so-called Home Front of the Sudetic Germans, became the strongest party in Czechoslovakia. It is true that *Czech* fascism did not achieve such great successes in the elections as it expected by a long way, but it would be a mistake to underestimate the fascist danger, the more so since the state apparatus is riddled with more or less open fascist elements and the bourgeois parties of the coalition also have influential reactionary wings which are not far distant from the fascists. Hence what is more urgent than to include all anti-fascist forces in one camp so that there shall not be a repetition of the German example in Czechoslovakia?

German imperialism is threatening a number of countries. Among those most immediately within range is Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovakian people are threatened with the loss of their national independence. The German, Slovakian, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish peoples in Czechoslovakia are in danger of coming under the heel of German, Hungarian and Polish fascism. The toiling people of all nationalities in Czechoslovakia have a vital interest in the maintenance of peace and in the closest alliance with the Soviet Union. In the meantime, however, the dark reactionary forces are intriguing to turn Czechoslovakia from alliance with the Soviet Union, and drive it into the toils of fascist Germany's war policy. Hence, what is more important than that all friends of peace, and opponents of imperialist war should unite in one front and fight against this danger jointly?

Indeed, no further valuable time must be lost. Neither Hitler nor the Czech reactionaries are indolent. Hitler employs his forces in order, by means of his agency in Czechoslovakia, the fascist "Home Front," to approach closer to the most reactionary circles of the Czech, Slovakian and Hungarian bourgeoisie. His first aim is to alter the line of Czechoslovakia's

foreign policy and to make Prague a branch of fascist Berlin. To the Czech fascists, the Preisses and Stribrnys, to the reactionary elements in the Czech Agrarian and Clerical parties, the Stoupals, Kyjovskys and Staseks, to the Slovakian and Hungarian reactionaries, the Hlinkas and Esterhazys—to all of them the good relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union are a thorn in the flesh. Common hatred against all that is socialist, proletarian and progressive brings all these dark forces into a reactionary bloc which strives for the complete enslavement of the toiling people of Czechoslovakia by fascist dictatorship. And the question stands as follows: *If Czechoslovakia is not to be driven into fascist barbarism, if it is not to come under the jack-boot of fascist Germany, if it is not to be driven into bloody war adventures, if the Czech people is not to be driven to a new White Mountain (Weisser Berg),* and the other nations of Czechoslovakia to be driven under the knife of Hitler, Horthy and the Polish fascists—then it is necessary to work with the utmost speed so that unity of action of the working class will be brought about in Czechoslovakia as well as a wide People's Front of all anti-fascists, all democrats, all progressive elements without regard to nationality or party affiliation, a People's Front of labour, freedom and peace.*

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has fought and continually fights to realise such unity of action and the united People's Front of all anti-fascist and anti-war elements, so that in this way the toiling people of Czechoslovakia may create for themselves the prerequisites not only for successful defence but also for counter-attack.

The reactionary leaders of the socialist parties in the government of Czechoslovakia, who work in the closest unity with the bourgeoisie, were and are—to the detriment of the working-class cause—opponents of fighting unity with the Communists; they have learnt nothing from the unhappy example of Germany. But the matter is otherwise with the mass of the rank-and-file members of the socialist parties. The lessons of Hitler's victory, on the one hand, and the example of the united front anti-fascist struggles in Austria, Spain and France, on the other hand, have exerted a mighty influence on the masses of Socialist workers in Czechoslovakia and intensified their efforts for the united front. And if Czech fascism at the last parliamentary elections did not strengthen itself as much as it expected, this is primarily due to

* Reference is to battle of White Mountain (1620).

the united anti-fascist fight of the Czech Socialist workers and Communists arrived at during the elections. Above all, we can record with joy that the *Socialist Youth* as a whole is beginning to come closer to the young revolutionary workers, and thus contributing to the creation of the united front of the proletariat. How much more successfully could the toiling people in Czechoslovakia defend its interests against the class enemy, how much more rapidly and easily could the creation of the widest unity of action be arrived at, if the reactionary controlling section of the leadership of the socialist parties did not fight with such persistence and virulence against their own workers, against their efforts for the united front!

However, the enemies of the united front in Czechoslovakia feel that they are being worsted in their arguments against the united front. This is shown by the excitement produced among them by the proceedings of our Congress. They correctly feel that the decisions of our Seventh World Congress will be a mighty stimulus to the more rapid creation of unity of action of the proletariat and of the anti-fascist People's Front on a national and international scale. For this reason, they have recently been laboriously digging out everything that they have so far put forward as an obstacle to an approach between the revolutionary vanguard and the rest of the masses of the toiling people of Czechoslovakia, above all the Czech toiling people.

In commenting on the opening speech of Comrade Pieck at our Congress, the central organ of Czech Social-Democracy *Pravo Lidu*, wrote as follows:

" Moscow at last makes possible a new and better form of collaboration of Social-Democracy and the Communists; it removes that obstacle which we regard as the major obstacle to the establishment of a united advance of the working class for defence of democracy and peace against fascism."

Thus the *Pravo Lidu*. The Communists of Czechoslovakia put neither major nor minor obstacles in the way of the united front, so that " Moscow " did not need to remove them at all—but we do not wish to quarrel about this. Let us also set aside the fact that the same *Pravo Lidu*, in the same commentary in which it noted the "removal of the major obstacle," concocts new, probably subsidiary obstacles. Let us set aside these reservations. Let us keep to the positive utterances of the *Pravo Lidu*. You say that the main obstacle to the united front has been removed. Well then, once more from this platform we make you the proposal: Let us negotiate without delay. The offers that we

have repeatedly made to you remain fully valid. We are ready to begin negotiations about them immediately. We are ready to negotiate on proposals that you make. And if, in the *Pravo Lidu* of July 30, 1935, under the title " Not Only Against, But Also For," you make the reproach that we are continually only " against " and never " for," that is not true.

We desire that the socialist parties should establish fighting unity with us, in the first place, *for* having the burdens of the economic crisis transferred to the shoulders of the capitalists. We are, for instance, *for* the confiscation from the Zivno-Bank of that 1½ milliards that it acquired entirely illegally on the cancellation of the worthless Austrian money. We are *for* having the capitalists, who have some milliards of taxation debts, undergo executive enforcement of payment of these milliards. On the other hand, we are *for* having the debts and taxes of the toiling peasants and artisans annulled. We are *for* the energetic taxing of the many milliards of stabilisation funds belonging to the banks and share companies, which funds have hitherto not been taxed. We are *for* the sequestration of the property and enterprises of capitalists who desire to evade payment of taxes by closing the enterprises and throwing the workers on the streets. We are *for* having the means obtained by heavy taxation of the rich utilised for creating work for the unemployed, for immediate emergency assistance for the starving German people and in general for the benefit of the toiling people. We are for wiping out the debts of the poor peasants, artisans and small traders at the cost of the big landowners and the banks. Well now, we are of course *against* the wages of the workers being reduced, unemployed benefit cut down, the bailiffs being sent to the peasants, artisans and small traders, and usury being practised with the immediate necessities of life.

In the second place, we want the socialist parties to join in fighting unity with us *for* barring the way for fascism. If we fight jointly for shifting the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the rich, if therefore, the workers, peasants, artisans and small traders, toiling intellectuals, youth and toiling population of the non-Czech nations see that the socialist unity in struggle defends their social interests *by deeds*—then this will cut the ground from under the feet of the fascist demagogues. Then neither the Henlein people, nor the Stribrnys, Gajdas or other fascists will have any success in going out to capture simpletons. Further, we are *for* having the fascist upper bureaucrats and officers removed from the state apparatus and army and the soldiers being given

civil rights. We are *for* joint action to prevent the fascists from taking possession of the Sokol, the rifle clubs, peasant riding organisations, etc. We are *for* jointly defending all democratic rights of the toiling people and jointly fighting to extend them. True enough, we are *against* working-class organisations being dissolved, Communists imprisoned and fascists acquitted.

Finally, we want the socialist parties to establish fighting unity with us *for* preserving peace and preventing Czechoslovakia from falling a victim to Hitler. We are *for* the closest alliance of Czechoslovakia with the Soviet Union. We are *for* consistent support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union. We are *for* jointly suppressing all those tendencies which desire to make Prague into a branch of fascist Berlin. But, as a matter of course, we are *against* persons being condemned for crying " Long live the Soviet Union ! " and Czech fascists who negotiate with Hitler agents and go to visit Goebbels being acquitted.

You see, our platform of the united front with the socialist parties is in fact extremely positive, it contains not only " against " but also "for." And in this matter it concerns things, the majority of which had been promised to the people before the elections in one form or another not only by the socialist parties, but even by the Agrarians. What, therefore, can prevent them from fighting jointly with us for realising one or another of these " for " clauses that are in the interests of the toiling people? Obviously, nothing except regard for the interests of the capitalists.

We do not agree, of course, with the Social-Democratic view that participation of Social-Democratic leaders in a bourgeois coalition government, as, for instance, is at present the case in Czechoslovakia, is a barrier against fascism. In this we appreciate the experiences in other countries. But we do not make it a condition of the united front with the socialist parties that they should leave the government, and we desire the united front with them, in spite of their participation in the government, for realising important working-class and people's demands, without even departing one inch from our basic theoretical standpoint in regard to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and participation in a bourgeois coalition government. Without ceasing for a moment to work to secure the sharing of this standpoint by the majority of the toilers, we say to those who still sincerely believe in the utility of the participation of leaders of Social-Democracy in the bourgeois government: You know that we do not share your view on the expediency of this step. But

let it be so. At present your Ministers are in the government. According to their own assurance, they entered it in order to defend there the interests of the people. We Communists also defend the interests of the people. Well, then, let us defend these interests jointly! Let the Social-Democratic Ministers in the government propose measures which have the aim of shifting at least a part of the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the capitalists. We will support even the smallest step in this direction in parliament and outside parliament. Let the Social-Democratic Ministers in the government secure that the toiling people is not deprived of a particle of its democratic rights. We will support every measure in this direction inside parliament and outside parliament. Let the Social-Democratic Ministers in the government propose and secure that the activity of the fascists, these agents of the most reactionary circles of finance capital, shall not be tolerated. Let them especially insist that the state apparatus together with the army shall be purged of fascist upper bureaucrats and officers, and all civil rights given to the soldiers. We shall support even the smallest step in this direction in parliament and also outside parliament.

I hear now the following objection: "The Social-Democrats in the government and the Social-Democrats and Communists in parliament are in the minority. The bourgeois parties in the government and in parliament will be against these and similar measures and we shall not be in a position to secure them." To this we reply: "In that case, the united front of the proletariat from below, outside parliament, in every enterprise, in every locality, throughout the country, is only so much the more necessary. In that case, it is more than ever necessary to call the masses to take action so that those who are negotiating with the class enemy can more effectively point to the fact that the wide masses actually do stand behind the demands represented by them. No honest representative of the toiling people, no honest negotiator with the class enemy can reject such assistance. On the contrary! If his intentions are serious and sincere then such assistance is bound not only to be welcome to him, but he must himself take care that he gets it, and that he gets it at the right time. For only united and mass action on the part of the toilers is capable of exerting such pressure on the class enemy that he is compelled to fulfil one demand or another of the people without regard to the numerical proportion of seats in parliament and Ministers in the government.

The Presidium of the party of the Czech Socialists, the party

of the Foreign Minister Benes, has adopted, as an answer, so to say, to the proceedings of the Seventh Congress of our International, a special resolution on the question of unity of action of the working class. Let the Communists first of all state clearly "their attitude to democracy," they say in this resolution. Now, this attitude has long been clear!

The whole world knows that we Communists are supporters of Soviet Democracy, of this *proletarian* democracy, of this—as long as classes exist—widest democracy which corresponds *best of all* to the interests of the toiling people. We fight for this democracy. If, however, *bourgeois* democracy, if the democratic rights which it allows the toiling people—and which the toiling people had to win in severe struggle—are attacked by fascism, then, of course, we are for the *defence* of these democratic rights. And if you like us to call this "defence of democracy," well, all right! We do not want to quarrel over what we call it. But if you regard our favourable attitude to *Soviet* democracy as an obstacle to joint struggle against the menace to *bourgeois* democracy on the part of fascism, then I should like to explain your standpoint to a rank-and-file member of your party by means of the following comparison.

Imagine two men in fetters. One of them has "only" his feet fettered; this one lives under the conditions of bourgeois democracy. The other is bound hand and foot and has a gag in his mouth; he lives under the conditions of fascist dictatorship. The first one is threatened with the same danger. A Communist comes to him and says: "Do not allow yourself to be completely fettered, let us defend ourselves jointly against it." A Social-Democratic or Czech-Socialist leader, an opponent of the united front, comes forward and answers: "Stop, that wouldn't do! First of all you must realise that it is right that your feet are fettered. You must not demand that the fetters on your feet should ever be severed!" In contrast to this the Communist advises the one who has "only" his feet fettered: "For what purpose, anyhow, have you your hands free? Only for them to drudge for the masters? Does it not occur to you that you should and must use them also in another way in order by their means to tear asunder the fetters on your feet and become entirely free? (*Applause.*) Therefore, don't let your hands be fettered. Let us defend ourselves jointly against it and at the first opportunity let us employ our free hands in order also to tear off the fetters from our feet. Then we will see whether anyone will dare to attack us." On this, the Social-Democratic or Czech-Socialist leader comes

forward again and says: "I do not agree at all with that. My standpoint is: I cannot to-day fight jointly against the fettering of the hands of anyone who ever wants to have the fetters on his feet cut off." Now, my dear friend, what would you say to such a man? I think that the answer which a worker would give to such a leader would not be exactly agreeable.

"State clearly first of all your relation to the republic"—the opponents of the united front further say, and they think that they have thereby once more put a stumbling block in the path of the socialist and Communist workers who are coming closer together. But this matter is also quite clear!

We desire that this republic in which the bourgeois rules to-day should become a *Soviet* republic, a *Socialist* republic, in which the toiling people rules. That is our goal. For that we are fighting. But if this *bourgeois-democratic* republic is threatened by bloody fascism, then we defend this republic against fascism and call upon all real socialists, democrats and republicans to a united front for the joint fight so that this republic shall be spared the greatest disgrace of all, and the toiling people the greatest catastrophe of all, *viz.*, bloody fascist dictatorship. And if we are decisively against this republic being handed over to the gangs of the *Czech* Hitlerites, we are just as decidedly against it coming under the knout of the *German* Hitlerites. Against both the one and the other we join with everyone, we defend the republic against international and external fascists. But to do that, gentlemen, the republic must give us the possibility. It must give full freedom to the organisations of the toilers. It must give freedom to the nationalities. It must not persecute the workers. It must not throw Communists and revolutionary workers into prison. If it does that—and it has done so hitherto—then it, itself, makes its defence *impossible*.

The masses of the Czech toiling people are filled with anxiety for the fate of their national independence. We Czech Communists share this anxiety. Precisely for this reason we say to the Czech workers, peasants, artisans and toiling intellectuals: Just remember the history of your own nation! When was the Czech people at the height of its glory? *It was at the time of the Hussites when it made the revolution, when in plebian fashion it settled accounts with the Czech lords!* (*Applause.*) *At that time the Czech people was invincible and instilled fear into the lords throughout Europe.* When, on the other hand, did it come to the disgrace of the White Mountain? It happened when the counter-revolution conquered, when the Czech people was once again

under the yoke of the Czech lords who led it to national servitude. And precisely in order to prevent history repeating itself, it is necessary to travel the road pointed out by the Communists. Do not believe those who would persuade you that the Communists are indifferent to the national independence of the Czech people, or that their policy leads to the loss of national independence. The opposite is true! *It is the policy of the Czech bourgeoisie, of the Czech lords, of the Preiss, Hodacs and Stribrnys which is leading the people to a new White Mountain!*

It is precisely the fascist wing of the Czech bourgeoisie which is hatching plots out of inveterate hatred of everything socialist and is undermining the present friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, although it is clear that the Soviet Union is the protector of peace and a support for Czechoslovakia against the expansion of Hitler imperialism. It is precisely the fascist circles of the Czech bourgeoisie that are pressing for the alteration of the present foreign policy of Czechoslovakia in the direction of Berlin, although it is clear that this would be the beginning of the end of Czechoslovakian independence. It is precisely the fascist circles of the Czech bourgeoisie that wish to drive Czechoslovakia into participating in Hitler's service in the crusade against the Soviet Union, although it is clear that this would mean immeasurable terror and suffering for the toiling people of all nationalities of Czechoslovakia. Has not, therefore, the Czech toiling people a thousand reasons for branding the mark of high treason on the foreheads of these fascist gangs?

They try to persuade you that the Communists, who are against the oppression of the other nationalities in Czechoslovakia, thereby menace the national independence of the Czech people. How shamelessly they lie! Who is it that most of all helps Hitler, Horthy and Polish fascists? One who commits a crime against the German, Slovakian, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish toiling people. One who keeps it in a state where it is deprived of rights and freedom. And that one is the Czech bourgeoisie, especially its reactionary section! The Communists have declared hundreds of times that they are against any uniting of even a single village to Hitler's Third Empire, Horthy Hungary or fascist Poland. But the best guarantee against such uniting will be provided by the disappearance of social and national oppression. To give work, bread, land and freedom to the German, Slovakian, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish peoples of Czechoslovakia—that means to erect the firmest barrier against Hitler, Horthy and the Polish fascists. Is it not clear that the Czech people has a

first-class interest in the creation of such a state of affairs? Is it not clear, on the contrary, that the Czech bourgeoisie commits treason also to the national interests of the Czech people by maintaining social and national oppression? Yes, indeed, it is clear.

Therefore, from whatever aspect we approach it, all grounds testify to the possibility and necessity of creating unity of action of the working class in Czechoslovakia. *No kind of* grounds can justify the policy of the opponents of the united front, of those who in the interests of harmony and collaboration with the bourgeoisie maintain the split in the working class.

The fighting unity of the Communists and socialists in Czechoslovakia would at *one* stroke increase the political significance and power of attraction of the working class. The fighting unity of the Communists and socialists—this means some three million votes out of the total number of about eight million voters; it means a million workers organised in trade unions; it means a million workers organised in consumers' co-operatives; it means hundreds of thousands of adherents of other workers' organisations. And if, as the Communists propose, all the parties mentioned adopt a course towards a rapid uniting of the trade union, co-operative and other mass organisations, then these organisations could become the centre of attraction for all unorganised workers as well as for those who for one reason or another have allowed themselves to be captured by the employers' or fascist organisations.

Such unity of action of the working class would have a marked effect on the ranks of the peasantry, the artisans and small traders and toiling intellectuals, on the ranks of the existing rank and file members of the Agrarian Party, Clerical People's Party and Artisans' and Traders' Party [*Gewerbe partei*]. It would be the basis for creating a wide *People's Front*.

For, in point of fact, what common interest has the landless cottager or the toiling peasant, member of the Agrarian Domovina (organisation of small peasants), with the present leadership of the Agrarian Party and especially with the most reactionary clique of Stoupal, Kyjovsky and Co.? Is it not clear that the interest of the landless cottager and toiling peasant who is organised in the Agrarian Party consists in these big landowners, armament manufacturers, distillers and sugar magnates being driven from the leadership of his organisation, and in alliance being established with the workers and their organisations for defence of common interests?

Is it not clear that the small trader and the artisan organised

in the Artisans' and Traders' Party have every interest in the leadership coming into the hands of real representatives of the small traders who fight in union with the working class and workers' organisations against the common enemy, against big capital, against Preiss and Co.?

Where is it written that the masses of rank and file adherents of the Czech and Slovak people's parties must tolerate for centuries the reactionary policy of Stasek and Hlinka and allow themselves to be incited against their own fellow-workers?

In all these parties there are real democratic anti-fascist elements. And it is to them that we Communists appeal. To them we offer the creation of a wide People's Front against the capitalist offensive, against fascism, for peace and against imperialist war, a People's Front of labour, freedom and peace.

As always when the demand of the socialist workers and honest democrats for the realisation of the united front was especially strong, so also on this occasion the opponents of the united front have brought forward their old argument in the newspapers of the socialist parties of Czechoslovakia: "Let the Communists then enter the government coalition." How is it at all possible to take such a proposal seriously? They "invite" us into the government and at the same time they have us thrown in jail, they have warrants issued against us and condemn us to years of imprisonment; the thing is too transparent! But we do not by any means evade a serious discussion of the question of the government.

Yes, the Communists strive for unity of action of the proletariat and the People's Front of all anti-fascists and supporters of peace, *not only* so that the toiling people can thereby defend itself against the attacks of the class enemy, but also so that it can collect its forces for a mighty *counter-attack*. And when in the process of this counter-attack the positions of the bourgeoisie have been shaken to such an extent, and the positions of the proletariat strengthened to such an extent, that the bourgeoisie is not in a position to control the masses that have come into movement, then the question can arise of the *creation of a government of the united front or People's Front*, of a government concerning whose character and programme Comrade Dimitrov has spoken with the utmost clarity.

Yes, we are for *such* a government—for a government which would support itself on the mighty united front of the working class linked in a wide People's Front with the masses of the toiling peasantry, the small traders and toiling intellectuals; for a

government which would really fight against the fascists, eradicate the fascist elements from the state apparatus and army, disarm and dissolve the fascist organisations, grant all civil rights to the soldiers and full freedom to all anti-fascist organisations, and arm the anti-fascists; for a government which would really deal severely with the capitalists, bankers and big landowners, impose proper taxes on them and introduce workers' control of production in their enterprises; for a government which would mercilessly penetrate into the pockets of the rich so that work and bread could be provided for the people; for a government which would help the toiling peasants, artisans and small traders at the expense of the big capitalists and big landowners; for a government which would give the German, Slovakian, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish toiling peoples, work, bread, equal rights and freedom so that these peoples should really feel at home in Czechoslovakia; for a government which would mercilessly settle accounts with all those who make deals with fascist Germany and who would like to bring Czechoslovakia under the tutelage of fascist Berlin and in the service of its predatory war policy; for a government which would create the closest alliance with the Soviet Union and jointly with it would struggle consistently for the preservation of peace in the international field—yes, we are for *such* a government. Such a government we shall support with all our strength.

We Communists of Czechoslovakia are conscious of our international responsibility. Surrounded by fascist states, we shall do everything to prevent Czechoslovakia being engulfed by the fascist wave, and to make Czechoslovakia a fortress of the anti-fascist and anti-war struggle in Central Europe. We feel ourselves closely bound up with the proletariat of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland, and especially with our heroic German brother party and its leader, our Comrade Thälmann. (*Stormy applause.*) *Their* cause is *our* cause, *their* struggle is *our* struggle. And in fighting in solidarity with the brother parties in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland we not only fight to protect Prague from fascism, but we help also to liberate Berlin, Vienna, Budapest and Warsaw from the fascist barbarians. (*Stormy applause, cries of "Rot Front!" and "Hurrah!" militant cries in all languages.*)